

Economic Dependence, Gender-Role Beliefs, and Housework Hours of Husbands and Wives in Contemporary Korea

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This article uses Time Use Survey data from 2014 to analyze the effects of relative economic dependence and individual gender-role attitudes on hours of housework performed by husbands and wives in the Republic of Korea. Regression modelling showed neither factor mattered for wives, but both influenced the time spent on housework for husbands. Husbands who were more economically independent and had traditional attitudes were predicted to spend less time on housework. Husbands' economic dependence, measured as the difference between a husband's monthly income and a wife's monthly income divided by their sum, interacted significantly with their gender-role attitudes. The negative effect of economic dependence was weaker for husbands with traditional attitudes if their economic dependence was less than 0.6. The negative effect was stronger for men with progressive attitudes whose economic dependence was less than 0.5. I suggest whether or not one spends time on housework based on economic bargaining power and gender-role beliefs is crucial for gender equality within family.

Keywords: gender, housework, economic dependence, ideology, Korea

Introduction

The gendered division of housework within the family may be evolving in contemporary South Korea (hereafter “Korea”). Statistics Korea (SK) (2020) has conducted a Time Use Survey (TUS) every five years since 1999. Its data reveal that the proportion of married men aged 20 years and above who participated in housework increased from 38.8 per cent in 1999 to 41.7 per cent in 2004, 48.1 per cent in 2009, and finally 48.2 per cent in 2014. The average amount of time those men spent per day increased from 61 minutes in 1999 to 71 minutes in 2014. At the same time, the proportion of women doing housework decreased from 98.3 per cent in 1999 to 97.5 per cent in 2014, and the average time they dedicated to housework per day dropped from 3 hours and 53 minutes in 1999 to 3 hours and 24 minutes in 2014. Despite these patterns to the contrary, housework remains almost exclusively women’s work, and women still spend about three times more time on this labour than men.

Studies have analysed housework as a way to shed light on gender inequality in Korean families. However, whether and to what degree economic bargaining based on relative income and individuals’ attitudes to gender roles are related to housework and how men and women differ in this regard still needs to be interrogated, not least because there are significant discrepancies in findings. Some empirical work has reported gender display in Korean women’s housework (Kim and Kim 2007; Kim 2013; Lee 2014), finding a curvilinear relationship between their time spent on housework and relative income, but Oh (2016) did not find a nonlinear effect of relative income for working wives. As for married men’s housework time little scholarship has examined the issue through the lens of relative economic independence or gender-role attitudes, or asked whether there is a curvilinear effect of relative income.

The problem is the following: neo-classical economic theory and the related resource bargaining approach emphasize rationality, whereby the more resources (i.e. income) an individual possesses, the more likely s/he is to reduce housework. In other words, the spouse with higher relative income will have more economic power and will use this power to bargain his/her way out of undesirable tasks, such as housework. Yet this does not always happen. Why? Sociological explanations of housework division focus on gender-role preferences and attitudes and argue that an individual’s beliefs about gender roles adequately explain their housework allocation (Finley

1989; Ross 1987). Women with progressive views may spend less time on housework while progressive-thinking men spend more. Women and men with traditional attitudes will spend more and less time, respectively. If her gender-role beliefs are strong, a woman with higher income but more traditional ideas may forego her bargaining power and do the lion's share of the housework (Kan 2008). Or as the gender display (Brines 1994) thesis posits, economic dependence may not always have a linear effect on housework. Operationalised based on the curvilinear relationship between housework and relative income, this thesis proposes that highly economically dependent men and highly economically independent women tend to undertake less and more housework, respectively, to compensate for their deviations from the traditional gendered division of labour (Bittman et al. 2003; Brines 1994; Greenstein 2000). More specifically, men who are not playing a breadwinner role spend less time on housework than men whose income is lower than their wife's income but who are more economically independent than non-breadwinning men. Similarly, the time spent on housework of women playing the full breadwinning role (i.e. a sole earner) is expected to be higher than that of women whose breadwinning role is weaker.

These various compelling theories all appear to be built upon the assumption that men and women autonomously allocate time to housework following their relative economic independence and gender-role beliefs. But it may not be safe to make this assumption in a country where power relations are severely gendered at a macro level. For example, a woman with higher income, progressive ideals, but living in a patriarchal society may ignore her economic power, forego her progressive beliefs, and instead follow social dictates. In contrast, a man may use his economic power and follow his beliefs about gender roles in the division of labour within the family.

This article interrogates the effect of relative economic independence and individual gender-role attitudes on housework for married men and women in Korea. The next section reviews the literature and describes our expectations about how relative income and gender-role attitudes explain housework division among married Koreans. Empirical analysis uses the Korean TUS from 2014. I find the effects of both relative economic independence and gender-role attitudes are independent of the amount of time married women spent on housework but are significant with regards to the amount of time married men spent on housework. Further, the negative impact of husbands' economic independence significantly differs based on his gender-role attitudes.

The number of studies on gender inequality in the home in East Asia has increased in recent years, with findings indicating a rigidly gendered division of domestic chores, whereby wives undertake the vast majority of housework, even when they work outside the home (Iwai 2017; Tsuya et al. 2005, 2012; Yu and Xie 2012; Zuo and Bian 2005). The analyses are mostly descriptive, however. This study contributes to the literature by providing empirical evidence of how relative economic independence and gender-role beliefs affect the amount of housework performed by married men and women in Korea, a non-Western and highly developed nation. I highlight gender differences in the realm of housework, showing whether men and women perform housework autonomously based on their relative income and/or gender-role attitudes.

Theoretical background

Theories on housework division often differ by how families are conceptualized. For example, according to Becker (1991), husbands and wives share the unitary goal of maximising household welfare and are rational actors. Thus, the gendered division of housework is not an issue of (economic) power relations and conflict but rather the outcome of a negotiation to maximise collective welfare. The time availability theory posits that husbands and wives allocate time to housework based on rational considerations of who has the most time available to perform the labour. Market labour determines the time available for domestic labour (Spitze 1988) and both husbands and wives do equal amounts if they work the same hours for pay (Ross 1987). This approach views the process of dividing labour between men and women as gender-neutral.

In contrast, although it also stresses rationality, the resource bargaining thesis builds on an assumption of a family as composed of individuals with different and sometimes conflicting preferences, interests, and resources. Both husbands and wives aim to maximise their individual welfare (Lundberg and Pollack 1993, 1994, 1996; Manser and Brown 1980; McElroy 1990). Housework is assumed to be an activity that both men and women want to avoid (Blood and Wolfe 1965). Thus, how much each brings to the family becomes critical as it essentially functions as a form of relative resource-based bargaining power. Numerous other studies have reported on the efficacy of economic bargaining power (An 2017; Bianchi et al. 2000; Bittman et al. 2003; Brines 1994; Evertsson and Neramo 2004; Greenstein

2000; Kim and Kim 2007; Kim 2013; Lee 2014; Oh 2016).

The resource bargaining approach proposes a linear relationship between relative resources and housework, but many unconventional cases have challenged this theory. Women may spend a substantial amount of time completing domestic tasks even if they have relatively more resources and therefore more economic bargaining power. Likewise, men may spend less time than women doing housework, even when they are relatively economically dependent on their spouses. West and Zimmerman's (1987) notion of "doing gender", whereby men and women establish and affirm their gender identities by displaying gender-appropriate behaviours, provides powerful insight into this phenomenon. Brines (1994) took an important step when she found a curvilinear relationship between time spent on housework and relative income. She discovered that the time men spend on housework increases as their partner's bargaining power increases, but only up to a certain point. Beyond that point, a man's time spent on housework does not correlate with their wife's bargaining power. Consequently, among economically dependent husbands, those who are more dependent (i.e. those without a job) spend a lesser amount of time on housework than those who are less dependent. But she did not find empirical evidence of gender display among women. She explained the gender differences by drawing on Chodorow's (1975) insight that conceptions of masculinity and femininity organise experience and behaviour:

The flexibility of these conceptions differs for women and men. The cultural framing of manhood as an accomplishment makes claims to masculinity more precarious than those of "natural" womanhood, more demanding of ongoing behavioral "proof," and less accommodating of departures from the norm (Gerson and Peiss 1985; Lehne 1989). Status violations are thus more likely to pose a threat to claimed identity and compel a compensatory response among dependent men than among breadwinner women. (Brines 1994, p. 683)

The gender display thesis and the concomitant curvilinear relationship between relative income and housework has gained robust empirical support. When Greenstein (2000) duplicated Brines' study (1994), he found a negative relationship for economic dependence and a negative relationship for economic dependence squared for men when he controlled for the effect of their gender-role attitudes. More recently, in a comparative study, Evertsson and Neramo (2004) found gender display in the US but not in Sweden. In a

similar study, Bittman et al. (2003) discovered Australian women reduce their time spent on housework up to the point where their income levels are similar to those of their husbands, then increase it after that point. In contrast, American women do not do gender display. They explained this difference by arguing that assumptions of appropriate male and female roles are stronger at an institutional level in Australia, according to an ideal of having a male breadwinner. Overall, the literature on Western countries implies that although the amount of time spent on housework by husbands and wives differs based on their relative resources and economic bargaining power, whether they do gender and/or allocate housework according to appropriate gender roles reflects prevailing gender norms at the societal level.

Some studies have found Korean women do gender. In their analysis of the 2004 TUS data, Kim and Kim (2007) operationalised men's share of income to review the relative resource thesis. They found that the time Korean women spent on housework reflected macro-level gender-role ideologies. They did not consider individual gender-role attitudes, however, or the spouse's socio-economic characteristics. Their study found no evidence of married men doing gender. Kim (2013) conducted a comparative study on housework in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan testing gender display among married women aged 25 to 47. Using data from the Korea Labor & Income Panel Survey, she found a curvilinear relationship between housework time and relative income. Lee (2014) also found a curvilinear relationship between married women's unpaid work hours and women's share of couples' income using the 2009 TUS. The effect was strengthened when time to care for family was added to housework.

These studies have contributed to the understanding of the effect of relative income on housework performed by Korean wives but they have failed to consider factors that may invalidate conclusions about the ability of personal beliefs and economic power to drive an individual's actions. First, although most literature mentioned above used the same dataset, the TUS, not all considered variables at the household level, such as household income, area of residence, or dependents, including young children and the elderly. Both children and older adult dependents may require care, which has implications on time required for housework. Second, it is perhaps more theoretically convincing to consider a spouse's education, absolute income, and working hours, because bargaining between husbands and wives extends beyond income (Evertsson and Neramo 2004), but these factors are often excluded in Korean studies. Third, only a few studies, including Lee's (2014), have considered gender-role attitudes when testing gender display. Extending

the point and building on Gupta's (2006, 2007) debate on autonomy, the power of relative income may only be valid when absolute income is controlled. Oh (2016) analysed married women's housework using the Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Families and found no evidence of economic bargaining, so questioned whether Korean women are able to exert bargaining power as they live in a strong male breadwinner regime.

Further, the number of studies on married men, particularly on housework performed by fathers, have increased, yet both relative income and gender-role attitudes are not adequately accounted for. Bae (2015) analysed husbands in dual earner couples in the 2009 TUS and found that time spent on housework by men was determined by their wife's working hours and income. The working hours and income differences between wives and husbands also held explanatory power. Kim and Kwon (2017) analysed married men aged between 20 and 59 who had a child aged less than 19 in the TUS. They found that the time spent on housework by men during weekdays differed depending on the wife's employment status, their own gender-role attitudes, and income. We should note that none of the studies mentioned here used relative income squared to test the gender display thesis. In short, the lack of a comprehensive approach may have attenuated the rigor of the arguments on Korean women's gender display. How relative economic independence and gender-role attitudes may be a source of gender differences in housework has received less analytic attention as well.

Bittman et al. (2003, p. 191) noted that actors do not necessarily internalise gendered identities or norms they believe are morally right or preferable. Rather, they expect others will follow those norms and seek to present themselves as also following them. They comment in notes that Brines (1994) used the term "gender display" to account for internalised norms of male and female behaviour. We believe that whether or not time spent on housework by men and women reflects internalised norms, one needs power to display the norms of society in general. This is critical conceptually for gender differences in the time allocation of housework.

Kan (2008) questioned the gender display thesis with her empirical analysis using British time use surveys that indicated a relationship between economic dependence and traditional attitudes. She found women with greater economic independence and traditional gender-role attitudes spent more time on housework despite their economic bargaining power. She found no curvilinear relationship between time spent on housework and relative income and concluded that individuals act autonomously according to their beliefs.

Freedom to choose what to be and what to do is critical for gender equality (Sen 1985, 1999). The theses on resource bargaining, gender-role attitudes and gender display appear to assume that individuals (both husbands and wives) are autonomous actors, allocating time on housework independently, according to their resources and/or attitudes. Men and women may use housework to express a more traditional division of labour to achieve gender accountability or to compensate for a deviant gender role, but doing so requires power. An individual's power to act regarding housework is not only a matter of their socio-economic characteristics and attitudes it is also closely related to gender as it operates at the macro level. Blumberg (1984) argued the micro-level gender division of labour is nested in macro-level gendered power relations. Building on Blumberg's gender stratification, Fuwa (2004) showed in her multilevel analysis that in societies where the GEM (gender empowerment measure) was higher, time availability and gender ideology had more powerful equalising effects on women's share of housework. Women in less egalitarian countries received less benefit from their individual-level assets.

Contemporary Korean society features severely gendered power relations. The Confucian patriarchy has long shaped Korean perceptions, relationships, and behaviours (Sechiyama 2013). Notably, women lack power in both politics and the economy. The 2007-2008 UN Human Development Report found Korea ranked 26th out of all world countries in human development, not far behind Germany (22) and Singapore (25), but in the UNDP's GEM ranking, Korea fell to 64th whilst Germany rose to 9th and Singapore to 16th. More specifically, in Korea, only 8 per cent of legislators, senior officials, and managers and only 39 per cent of professional and technical workers are women, and the estimated female-to-male earned income ratio is 0.4. These figures significantly contrast with those for Germany (37 per cent, 50 per cent, and 0.58, respectively) and Singapore (26 per cent, 44 per cent, and 0.51, respectively) (United Nations Development Programme 2008). Women in the US, Australia, and the UK perform housework according to either their relative income or gender-role attitudes, and they even do gender display (Bittman et al. 2003; Brines 1994; Greenstein 2000). This might be related to less gendered power relations at a macro level than what can be seen in Korea. Australia ranked 8th, the US 15th, and the UK 14th in the GEM ranking mentioned above (United Nations Development Programme 2008). Given these cross-cultural differences, it is important to determine if married Korean women allocate time to housework based on relative economic independence and gender-role

attitudes and if Korean men are the same or different.

Data, measurements, and procedures

Statistics Korea (SK) began the TUS in 1999 and has conducted it every five years since then. We used the most recent survey data from 2014. Utilizing the Korean Census data, SK employed a stratified two-stage cluster sampling method to select 800 enumeration districts and 15 households per one enumeration district for the 2014 TUS. The survey finally had total 27,000 individuals and 12,000 households.

Participants in the TUS are older than 10 and are asked to complete time use diary entries at ten-minute intervals for two consecutive days. This is a household survey, and the sample households are divided into five groups: two groups report time use during two consecutive weekdays; two groups report time use for one weekday and one weekend day, and the two days are consecutive; one group reports time use on Saturday and Sunday. Reported activities are in nine major categories: personal care, paid work, learning, housekeeping, family care, social participation (including volunteer work), socialization or leisure activity, travel, and other unclassified activities.

In this study, I selected married couples aged between 20 and 64 who lived together at the time of the survey and who reported to be either heads of the household or spouses. I excluded those who reported that they did not work because they were in school, too old (including retired), or critically ill. After considering the dependent variable, all independent variables, and the covariates, I was left with a sample of 5,388 married couples.

Dependent variable

This study's dependent variable was time spent on housework. Housework included all activities in the category of housekeeping—preparing meals, doing laundry, cleaning, shopping for groceries, etc. The TUS collects information on time spent caring for pets and plants. I excluded this information because these activities are similar to leisure. I included both main and simultaneous activities and time for housework-related travel.

Studies vary significantly in how they measure housework time. The sampling approach of the TUS is one reason for this. As mentioned earlier, the sample households differ in terms of days for which the time use was reported; some couples reported time use on two weekdays, others reported

one weekday and one weekend day, while other couples reported time use for Saturday and Sunday. Time use may differ for weekdays and weekends and controls have different effects (Joo and Choi 2019; Kim and Chin 2016; Kim and Kwon 2017). Some studies have included a variable to control whether the day of time use reported was from a weekday or a weekend day (An 2017; Eun 2019). Equally valid would be taking individuals as the unit of analysis. For this, an average of two days of time use should be measured (Kim 2016; Yoon 2010). The use of an average value across two days can be made more sophisticated if the days of time use are controlled (Yoon 2010). For example, two women's average housework time may be 200 minutes per day, but the days of the time use may differ. This study used the average value of time allocated to housework for two days and controlled the days of time use.

Independent variables

Key independent variables were economic dependence and gender-role attitudes. The TUS collects information on income using bands (no income (1), less than 500,000 won (2), more than 500,000 won and less than 1,000,000 won (3), more than 1,000,000 won and less than 1,500,000 won (4), more than 1,500,000 won and less than 2,000,000 won (5), more than 2,000,000 won and less than 2,500,000 won (6), more than 2,500,000 won and less than 3,000,000 won (7), more than 3,000,000 won and less than 3,500,000 won (8), more than 3,500,000 won and less than 4,000,000 won (9), more than 4,000,000 won and less than 4,500,000 won (10), more than 4,500,000 won and less than 5,000,000 won (11), and more than 5,000,000 won (12).

Kim and Chin (2016) recoded no income as (0) instead of (1), took the median value of each band for the rest of the income levels, and regarded income as a continuous variable. Joo and Choi (2019) took a similar approach to revising the TUS bands; their highest income band was 7,250,000 won, based on information from the SK's Household Income and Expenditure Survey. Coding no income as (0) makes more sense than coding it as (1), but using the median value of each band can be problematic because it is impossible to decide how to recode the last band (income more than 5,000,000 won). Any decision for assigning a value to the last band would necessarily be arbitrary. Thus, in this study, I recorded no income as (0), giving us variables from 0-11 instead of 1-12. Furthermore, as many studies have done (Eun 2019; Joo and Choi 2019; Kim and Chin 2016; Kim and Kwon 2017), I considered income to be a continuous variable.

I operationalised resource bargaining power following the lead of Brines

(1994), who used Sørensen and McLanahan's (1987) economic dependence: $(\text{respondent's income} - \text{his or her spouse/partner's income}) / (\text{respondent's income} + \text{his or her spouse/partner's income})$. The economic dependence value ranged from -1, indicating that a wife or husband had no income—were fully economically dependent—to 1, indicating the opposite, full economic independence. In other words, economic dependence was < 0 if the respondent earned less than their partner. Otherwise, economic dependence > 0 . However, economic dependence = 0 if both the respondent and their partner/spouse earned an equal amount, indicating no economic dependency. To determine the curvilinear relationship between housework time and relative income, I used the economic dependence squared term.

The TUS collects individuals' attitudes regarding gender roles using the statement "A man's job is to earn money and a woman's job is to take care of the house," with the following response categories: 1) strongly agree, 2) agree, 3) disagree, and 4) strongly disagree. I created a dummy variable with traditional attitudes (strongly agree and agree) coded as "1" and progressive attitudes (strongly disagree and disagree) coded as "0".

Covariate variables

First, I considered the ages of husbands and wives. Because of possible multicollinearity, however, I did not include the age of spouses in the models. Second, I determined the education level of husbands and wives using information on whether they were attending school, had completed courses, graduated (and at what level), dropped out, or were on a leave of absence. I divided education levels into eight categories: no education (0); primary school (1); middle school (2); high school (3); 2-3 years college (4); 4-year college (5); master's degree (6); doctorate (7).

Third, I determined the time availability of husbands and wives using information on time spent on primary and secondary jobs and their labour market participation status. I excluded those who reported no working hours on a job and recoded those who reported they were not in the labour market as "0". The information in the TUS measures hours per week; thus, I created a variable in which I calculated working hours as minutes per day on a seven day per week basis. Fourth, I considered the health status of wives and husbands because this could have an effect on housework performance. The TUS collects data on health using the following response categories: very good (1), good (2), neither good nor bad (3), bad (4), and very bad (5). Fifth, at the household level, I considered young and elderly dependents. Young

dependents were household members aged less than ten, and elderly dependents were adult household members who needed care because of their old age and/or ill health. I created variables to indicate the presence of young dependents (coded as “1”) and old dependents (coded as “1”).

Sixth, I considered monthly household income, which also was collected using bands: less than 1,000,000 won (1), more than 1,000,000 won and less than 2,000,000 won (2), more than 2,000,000 won and less than 3,000,000 won (3), more than 3,000,000 won and less than 4,000,000 won (4), more than 4,000,000 won and less than 5,000,000 won (5), more than 5,000,000 won and less than 6,000,000 won (6), more than 6,000,000 won and less than 7,000,000 won (7), and more than 7,000,000 won (8).

Seventh, like other studies (Bae 2015; Eun 2019), I considered area of residence and divided respondents into those living in Seoul, Gyeonggi-do, and Incheon (coded as “1”) and those living in other parts of Korea (coded as “0”). Eighth, we included house ownership by grouping those who had a house (coded as “1”) and others (coded as “0”). Finally, I considered days of time use, dividing men and women by those who reported time use for two weekdays (reference category), those who reported time use for one weekday and one weekend day, and those who reported time use for Saturday and Sunday.

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of the variables included in the analysis. On average, married women spent 213.51 minutes per day on housework, whereas men spent 34.96 minutes. In other words, married women spent more than six times more time on housework than men. Women were largely economically dependent on men, indicated by an economic dependence value of -0.56. Women had more progressive attitudes to gender roles than men: 72.2 per cent of wives disagreed with the statement on men’s and women’s traditional roles, whereas only 51.2 per cent of husbands disagreed.

The average age of women was 43.61, and the average age of men was 46.94. On average, women worked 210.69 minutes per day and men worked 426.92 minutes. Women’s average education level was between high school and 2-3 years of college; men’s average education level was slightly higher. Average income of women and men was 2.15 and 6.69 respectively. Both men and women reported that their health was neither good nor bad. Average monthly household income was 4.86. Approximately one third of married couples had members of their household who were aged less than ten, and 1.4 per cent had adult dependents. About one third of the couples lived in metropolitan areas, and roughly two thirds had a house. The proportion of

TABLE 1
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES IN THE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

	Wives (N=5,388)			Husbands (N=5,388)		
	Mean/ %	SD	Range	Mean/ %	SD	Range
<i>Dependent variable</i>						
Housework time (minutes per day)	213.51	126.32	0~940	34.96	67.43	0~810
Total						
<i>Independent variables</i>						
Working hours (minutes per day)	210.69	206.03	0~1020	426.92	128.94	0~1028
Education	3.55	1.17	0~7	3.79	1.26	0~7
Monthly income	2.15	2.46	0~11	6.69	2.63	0~11
Economic dependence	-0.56	0.43	-1~1	0.56	0.43	-1~1
Gender-role attitudes (progressive)	72.2			51.2		
<i>Covariates</i>						
Age	43.61	8.85	20~64	46.94	9.18	21~64
Health status	2.7	0.76	1~5	2.61	0.74	1~5
Proportion of couples with household members aged less than 10				35.4		
Proportion of couples with adult dependents				1.4		
Household annual income				4.86 (1.76)		
Metropolitan				32.9		
House ownership				67.9		
<i>Day of time use</i>						
Two weekdays				40.7		
One weekday and one weekend day				39.1		
Two weekend days				20.2		

husbands and wives who reported time use for two weekdays, for one weekday and one weekend day, and for two weekend days were 40.7 per cent, 39.1 per cent, and 20.2 per cent respectively.

Analytic procedure

I ran regression analyses separately for husbands and wives. Table 2 and Table 3 shows the results for time spent on housework by wives and husbands, respectively. In each table, Model 1 considered all covariates only; Model 2 added economic dependence and economic dependence squared, along with the respondents' gender-role attitudes. In so doing, I was able to identify the

effect of relative economic independence which may be only linear or may be nonlinear at some point in relation to economic dependence. I was also able to see the effect of gender-role attitudes. Model 3 tested the interaction between economic dependence and gender-role attitudes, as well as the main effects of economic dependence and gender-role attitudes. Lastly, Model 4 included economic dependence, its squared term, gender-role attitudes, and the interaction term. I estimated robust standard errors for the models to account for heteroscedasticity and because the TUS is a household survey with more than one family member reporting (Kim 2016).

Results

Table 2 gives the regression results for time spent on housework by wives. Model 1 shows that time spent on housework increased for married women who were older. Higher education, higher monthly income, and longer working hours significantly reduced housework time. Health status was irrelevant. When a husband has higher monthly income and longer working hours, the wife's time spent on housework increased. Living with a husband who holds traditional attitudes meant an increased amount of housework time. The presence of young dependents meant reduced housework time for women, possibly reflecting the use of formal childcare and education services. Having adult dependents who require care significantly increased the amount of housework performed by wives. While Bae (2015) found an effect of house ownership on husbands' housework time in dual-earner couples, I found that to have the same effect for wives' housework; house ownership meant increased time spent on housework for wives. I also found that wives living in the metropolitan areas spent less time on housework compared to those who lived in other areas.

Model 2 showed no effect of economic dependence, its squared term, nor gender-role attitudes. In this model, the effect of the absolute monthly income of wives, which I found in Model 1, disappeared. This finding differs from Oh's (2016) study; she found an effect of absolute income when relative income was controlled. In Model 3 I examined the effect of economic dependence, gender-role attitudes, and their interaction term; none was relevant. In Model 4, I added the economic dependence squared term to Model 3; this too showed no effects.

Overall, I found no empirical evidence that Korean women's housework time differs according to their economic dependence and gender-role

TABLE 2
MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODELS OF WIVES' HOUSEWORK TIME

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)
Constant	203.034*** (9.857)	197.632*** (10.232)	199.159*** (10.273)	198.1*** (10.271)
Wife's economic dependence		-6.508 (6.367)	-10.495 (5.957)	-5.514 (6.845)
Wife's economic dependence square		6.987 (4.337)		7.099 (4.377)
Wife's traditional attitudes		-3.932 (2.044)	-5.106 (3.18)	-5.484 (3.222)
Traditional attitudes*economic dependence			-2.141 (4.303)	-2.497 (4.342)
Wife's Age	0.81*** (0.137)	0.804*** (0.138)	0.816*** (0.137)	0.805*** (0.138)
Wife's education	-2.416* (1.109)	-2.647* (1.108)	-2.558* (1.107)	-2.658* (1.108)
Wife's working hours	-2.098*** (0.049)	-2.055*** (0.052)	-2.071*** (0.051)	-2.055*** (0.052)
Wife's monthly income	-2.931*** (0.586)	-1.317 (0.936)	-1.611 (0.929)	-1.353 (0.939)
Wife's health status	0.951 (1.184)	0.887 (1.186)	0.908 (1.185)	0.903 (1.186)
Husband's education	0.644 (0.999)	0.639 (1.002)	0.701 (1.000)	0.644 (1.001)
Husband's working hours	0.153* (0.061)	0.134* (0.062)	0.132* (0.062)	0.135* (0.062)
Husband's monthly income	3.312*** (0.631)	2.723*** (0.739)	2.562*** (0.731)	2.734*** (0.74)
Husband's traditional attitudes	4.217* (1.77)	4.802** (1.806)	4.838** (1.807)	4.781** (1.808)
Husband's health status	1.121 (1.246)	1.09 (1.246)	1.107 (1.246)	1.083 (1.246)
Presence of young dependents	-16.197*** (2.379)	-16.53*** (2.381)	-16.4*** (2.381)	-16.519*** (2.382)
Presence of adult dependents	17.134* (7.827)	17.166* (7.831)	16.924* (7.843)	17.032* (7.833)
Metropolitan	-5.304** (1.911)	-5.087** (1.909)	-5.093** (1.91)	-5.063** (1.908)
House ownership	5.974** (1.966)	5.82** (1.966)	5.856** (1.967)	5.815** (1.967)

TABLE 2
MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODELS OF WIVES' HOUSEWORK TIME

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)
Monthly household income	-1.703 (0.988)	-1.547 (1.002)	-1.402 (0.997)	-1.557 (1.002)
Days of time use (ref: two weekdays)				
One weekday and one weekend day	19.799*** (1.852)	19.804*** (1.853)	19.839*** (1.853)	19.785*** (1.853)
Two weekend days	27.461*** (2.547)	27.445*** (2.543)	27.453*** (2.542)	27.427*** (2.542)
R^2	0.296	0.296	0.296	0.296
F	271.26***	232.75***	232.2***	221.65***
Df	17	20	20	21

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

ideology. Huh and Kim (2019) analysed time spent on housework by wives in dual-earner couples using the Korean Labour and Income Panel Study. Like us, they found no effects of women's share of income and gender-role attitudes. Yoon (2010) also did not find an effect of women's gender role attitudes.

Table 3 shows the regression results for time spent on housework by husbands. Model 1 showed that the older men were, the less time they spent on housework. Higher education increased housework time, while longer working hours decreased it. Men's absolute monthly income was irrelevant. Unlike women, their health status mattered: bad health decreased husbands' housework time. At the same time, wives' longer working hours and higher monthly income increased husbands' housework time. Husbands' housework time was also affected by wives' health, in that wives' bad health corresponded to husbands increasing their time spent on housework. Unlike their wives, men with young dependents had an increased amount of housework time, but having adult dependents was not relevant. Furthermore, unlike the pattern I found for wives, husbands in metropolitan areas had increased housework time. House ownership was not relevant. Finally, as Table 2 shows, household income was not relevant to time spent on housework by wives, but it reduced husbands' housework time.

I built Model 2 to test the effect of economic dependence and gender

TABLE 3
MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODELS OF HUSBANDS' HOUSEWORK TIME

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)
Constant	67.337*** (6.717)	72.478** (7.042)	76.304*** (7.11)	74.157*** (7.096)
Husband's economic dependence		-19.071*** (4.678)	-14.215*** (3.964)	-22.188*** (4.749)
Husband's economic dependence square		12.404*** (2.957)		12.005*** (2.951)
Husband's traditional attitudes		-6.511*** (0.976)	-11.215*** (1.748)	-10.995*** (1.743)
Traditional attitudes*economic dependence			8.458** (2.444)	7.908** (2.442)
Husband's Age	-0.244** (0.078)	-0.236** (0.078)	-0.22** (0.078)	-0.236** (0.078)
Husband's education	3.436*** (0.555)	3.236** (0.55)	3.389*** (0.552)	3.287*** (0.55)
Husband's working hours	-0.698*** (0.044)	-0.663*** (0.044)	-0.665*** (0.043)	-0.66*** (0.044)
Husband's monthly income	-0.359 (0.314)	0.714 (0.387)	0.385 (0.379)	0.678 (0.387)
Husband's health status	-5.285*** (0.74)	-5.325*** (0.734)	-5.259*** (0.735)	-5.298*** (0.733)
Wife's education	-0.096 (0.583)	-0.391 (0.583)	-0.29 (0.585)	-0.447 (0.584)
Wife's working hours	0.105*** (0.027)	0.088** (0.029)	0.062* (0.029)	0.089** (0.029)
Wife's monthly income	0.641* (0.296)	-0.237 (0.533)	-0.668 (0.55)	-0.224 (0.533)
Wife's traditional attitudes	0.047 (1.107)	1.123 (1.11)	1.181 (1.11)	0.926 (1.107)
Wife's health status	1.921** (0.676)	1.884** (0.675)	1.869** (0.674)	1.855** (0.673)
Presence of young dependents	4.092** (1.315)	4.204** (1.311)	4.32** (1.31)	4.153** (1.309)
Presence of adult dependents	3.376 (3.195)	4.215 (3.087)	3.638 (3.135)	3.87 (3.103)
Metropolitan	3.117** (1.089)	2.824** (1.085)	2.886** (1.084)	2.924** (1.083)
House ownership	1.413 (1.149)	1.445 (1.143)	1.461 (1.145)	1.393 (1.144)
Monthly household income	-1.913*** (0.511)	-2.461*** (0.516)	-2.167*** (0.513)	-2.433*** (0.516)

TABLE 3
MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODELS OF HUSBANDS' HOUSEWORK TIME

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)	Coef. (Robust SE)
Days of time use (ref: two weekdays)				
One weekday and one weekend day	18.195*** (1.029)	18.118*** (1.023)	18.178*** (1.026)	18.092*** (1.024)
Two weekend days	33.2*** (1.466)	33.088*** (1.467)	33.082*** (1.468)	33.042*** (1.468)
R^2	0.117	0.124	0.122	0.125
F	72.81***	64.08***	64.72***	62.00***
Df	17	20	20	21

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

display when I controlled the effect of gender-role attitudes. It showed that all of these factors were highly significant. In specific the more husbands who were economically independent the less time they spent on housework. I also found a positive relationship of economic dependence squared for husbands' housework time. The findings imply that economically dependent men or economically independent men (those with an economic dependence value close to either -1 or 1) both spend more time on housework. Finally, husbands with traditional attitudes spent less time doing housework than those with progressive attitudes. The findings related to the role of gender-role attitudes are consistent with Huh and Kim's (2019) findings for husbands in dual earner families.

To clarify these findings, I plotted predicted minutes of housework performed by husbands from Model 2. Figure 1 shows economically dependent husbands (those with an economic dependence value close to -1) allocated much more time to housework. Note that the effect of economic dependence and its squared term among husbands in Korea is distinctively different from husbands in America, as found by Brines (1994) and Greenstein (2000). They found the curvilinear effect of relative income when economic dependence negatively reduced housework time, and its square term also had negative effects. Gender display was found among economically dependent men.

Model 3 showed that economic dependence, gender-role attitudes, and the interaction term between them all had a statistically significant influence on men's housework time. Greater economic independence and more

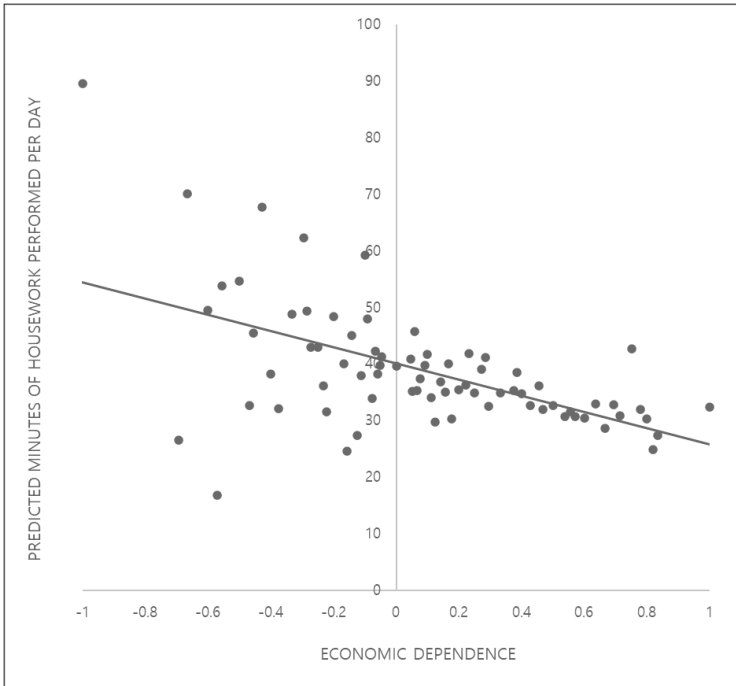


FIG. 1.—PREDICTED MINUTES OF HOUSEWORK PERFORMED BY HUSBANDS PER DAY

traditional attitudes reduced the time husbands spend on housework. The interaction term indicated that the effect of economic dependence on husbands' housework time differed according to their gender-role attitudes. Specifically, the negative effect decreased for husbands with traditional attitudes and increased for husbands with progressive attitudes. Model 4 added the economic dependence squared term to model 3. Here, I found the strong negative effects of economic independence and traditional attitudes. In addition, the interaction term was significant when the effect of the economic dependence squared term was controlled.

To better understand the interaction term, I plotted predicted minutes of housework performed by husbands per day (see Figure 2). I plotted the predicted amount of housework time for Model 2 (without interaction) and Model 4 (with interaction) for men with progressive and traditional gender-role attitudes. The negative effect of economic dependence on housework time was significantly reduced for those husbands with traditional attitudes. Notably, the effect of economic dependence decreased among husbands with

traditional attitudes whose economic dependence value was less than 0.6. To be precise, this reduced effect was found for husbands who earned more than their wives up to the point of 0.6 on our economic dependence scale. The predicted average amount of housework time per day for husbands whose economic dependence was greater than 0 (husband's and wife's income was the same) and less than 0.6 was 28 minutes in Model 4, slightly less than the 29.46 minutes we found in Model 2. These husbands accounted for 30.3 per cent of all husbands with traditional attitudes. A reduced negative effect was also found for husbands whose income was equal to their wife's income. This group of husbands accounted for 11.1 per cent of all husbands with traditional attitudes. In Model 2, without the interaction term, these men were predicted to spend 33.66 minutes per day; this value dropped to 31.01 minutes in Model 4. Finally, a reduced effect was found for husbands whose income was lower than their wife's income. This group of husbands accounted for 4.7 per cent of all husbands with traditional attitudes. They were predicted to spend 41 minutes on housework in Model 2 and this dropped to 36.77 minutes in Model 4.

In contrast, Figure 2 shows that for husbands with progressive attitudes, the negative effect of economic dependence was stronger through the interaction with gender-role attitudes. Specifically, husbands whose income was greater, up to the economic dependence value of 0.5 performed 39.9 minutes of housework per day (Model 2). This increased marginally to 40.93 minutes in Model 4 when the interaction term was included. This group of husbands accounted for 37.4 per cent of all husbands with progressive attitudes. Furthermore, husbands whose income was equal to their wives' accounted for 9.3 per cent of all husbands with progressive attitudes. The average housework time performed by this group of husbands was 43.63 minutes per day in Model 2; this increased to 45.47 minutes in Model 4. Finally, as Figure 2 clearly shows, the interaction effect between gender-role attitudes and economic dependence was stronger for economically dependent husbands, namely those whose income was lower than their wife's income. This group of husbands accounted for 7.9 per cent of all husbands with progressive attitudes. The average housework time predicted per day in Model 2 was 46.98 minutes; this increased to 49.72 minutes in Model 4.

The predicted hours spent on housework when the interaction term is included suggest gender-role attitudes may strongly influence the effects of economic dependence, particularly among husbands whose breadwinning ability is relatively weaker. The results imply that men in contemporary Korean society are empowered to perform housework based on their

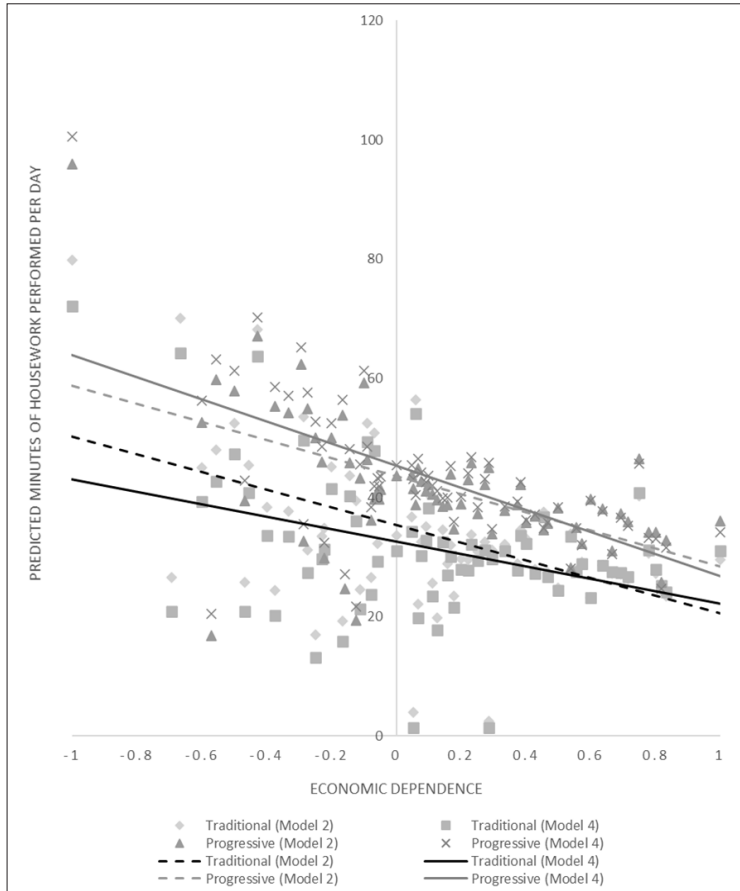


FIG. 2.—PREDICTED MINUTES OF HOUSEWORK PERFORMED BY HUSBANDS PER DAY BY GENDER-ROLE ATTITUDES

traditional beliefs about gender roles, thus reducing the power of their economic dependence. Equally important, it seems husbands with progressive attitudes also act more autonomously following their beliefs, doing more housework when they are economically dependent on their wife. As a consequence, the two dotted lines in Model 2 show that the gap between husbands with different attitudes was marginal, regardless of the level of their economic dependence. The two similar lines in Model 4 show that time spent on housework differed significantly in particular for those who were economically dependent on their wife. The results for husbands differ critically from the results for wives, for whom neither economic dependence

nor gender-role attitudes was significant.

Conclusion

This article has interrogated the time spent on housework by married women and men in contemporary Korea in an effort to shed more light on the effects of economic bargaining based on relative income and personal gender-role attitudes. I found that neither relative economic independence nor gender-role beliefs affected the amount of time spent on housework by wives but that both affected the amount of time that their husbands spent on housework. Furthermore, I found that the effect of economic dependence on housework performed by husbands differed significantly depending on gender-role attitudes. More specifically, the negative effect of economic dependence on housework time was reduced for husbands with traditional attitudes and stronger for husbands with progressive attitudes. I found significant differences in predicted housework time according to gender-role attitudes among husbands whose breadwinning ability was relatively weaker.

The effect of economic dependence among Korean married men significantly differed from American men who Brines (1994) found do gender in the realm of housework. Furthermore, Korean married women's gender display in the realm of housework (Kim and Kim 2007; Kim 2013; Lee 2014) is highly questionable. When it comes to housework in contemporary Korean society, men and women may not resort to traditional gender divisions of labour to achieve gender accountability in terms of how they are viewed by others. Instead, housework may be a type of power practice for which the processes are highly gendered. We may then make sense of the gender differences in economic bargaining power and gender-role ideology in relation to the highly gendered power relations in contemporary Korean society. This is significant, as the freedom to do or not do something—in this case, housework—is crucial for gender equality. I suggest that the extent to which time spent on housework is based on gender-role attitudes and economic bargaining power may be closely related to gendered power relations operating at the societal level. This is not something I specifically looked for, but it is an interesting issue for future research, particularly paying attention to possible different effects of gender relations in economics, politics, and culture.

It could be argued that the measurements of relative economic independence and gender-role attitudes in the TUS are limited. Nonetheless,

the TUS has a detailed and comprehensive methodology for collecting information on time use. This has helped researchers (including us) understand the gender differences in housework time allocation in Korea. The data allow us to reach the following conclusion: Korean husbands allocate time to housework following their economic bargaining power and gender-role beliefs, but women cannot do the same. This is why husbands still do such a limited amount of housework in contemporary Korea. In other words, this highly developed country continues to cling to a rigidly gendered division of labour within families.

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